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The Conditional Sentence in Anglo-Saxon

a Thesis presented to Johns Hopkins University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by

Frank Jewett Mather Jr.

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Introduction

The following investigation is an attempt to make that chapter of Anglo-Saxon syntax which relates to the conditional sentence, by exhibiting so far as possible the nature, and by exhibiting also the varieties of that construction. With this [illegible] in view the writer has drawn conclusions in connection from with by examples enough to find to illustrate the different points.

But an investigator is bound to present enough of his processes and material, first to give the reader control of the work and second to facilitate further investigation in the same field. It is hoped that these ends have been obtained by the somewhat minute division of the subject and by the [illegible] studies. That a body of material is offered sufficiently large to relieve the future writer of any Anglo-Saxon syntax of the drudgery of collecting examples for this branch of his subject.

In any such work the Latin originals of the texts must constantly be taken into account, if only to free one's self of the idea which still has some currency that all Anglo-Saxon prose is Latin. The notes which have accompanied as many as possible of the texts have been presented in the comparatively few cases where they appeared to have especial interest or value. The debased nature of most of the Latin which was translated into Anglo-Saxon makes it impossible in great measure to make the exigencies of classical Latin grammar the point of departure of contrast for the systematic study of Anglo-Saxon prose, even if this procedure were desirable. Outside of a certain few texts it is quite impossible to prove any far-reaching influence of Latin upon Anglo-Saxon. The many coincidences one should expect to find of course prove nothing. The language must be studied on the basis of an unbiased survey of its own phenomena, not

as too often in the past, with the intention of making it square to the rules of Latin grammar. There are certain frequent variations from the Latin which are instructive for the determination of the value of moods in Anglo-Saxon. These are cited in the course of the dissertation

From his experience with syntactical dissertations the writer believes that we shall better attain a scientific syntax of Anglo-Saxon by the study of single constructions in all the important monuments than by studies of the syntax of single texts. Several examinations and parsings of many ambiguous forms in Anglo-Saxon will inevitably lead astray the investigator who cannot check his work by a great number of examples.

The bibliography will show how far the writer has depended upon his own reading and how much he has availed himself of previous syntactical investigation. Such previous work is often

supplemented by the writer's own reading without special mention of the fact.

The obligations of a worker in the field of syntax to the standard works on that subject are so obvious as hardly to call for mention. In the absence of any really authoritative work on Anglo-Saxon syntax [illegible] to the more general portions of those grammars and syntactical studies of the classical languages which contain sounder and broader work than has yet been produced in the newer field of Germanic syntax. Such a debt is wholly an indirect one and one that can hardly be expressed by page and paragraph; for one cannot apply classical categories directly to Anglo-Saxon, the [illegible] the less a real one.

especial obligations to the authorities cited, except to Prof. Goodwin's article on the conditional sentence in Greek and to the same writer's "Moods and Tenses" which did much to emancipate him from the conventional view of the subjunctive, and to the article by Dr Erbe which offered a classification of the subject which the writer has followed in principle if not in all details.

The writer is glad to acknowledge an obligation of a more personal nature to Mr Bright of this university to whom he owes, at least in part, the suggestion of the subject of this dissertation, encouragement and advice during its preparation, and the training which alone could give it any value.

If the publication of this work marks a [illegible] advance however small towards [illegible] a complete and thorough system of Anglo-Saxon, the writer

ded upon it.

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Footnotes

1. Since this antiquated edition must soon be superseded it has not seemed worth while to number the lines. The references to the paragraph, to the general position on the page: h, 'high' m, middle' l, 'low'. Forms of especial interest are cited in addition by chapter and by paragraph, so that they may be found without great difficulty in a subsequent edition.

2. Citations from the shorter paragraphs [illegible] grow by the year, from long passages by page and [illegible]

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The Conditional Construction in General and in Anglo-Saxon.

It may be well at the outset to state briefly and roughly my understanding of the conditional construction in general[3], and to indicate what we may expect to find to be its nature in Anglo-Saxon.

The conditional construction presents two actions or states of being in such relation to each other that the realization of the one involves the realization of the other. But the absolute validity of either event is not asserted, though often implied in the conditional sentence. The event to be realized is contingent upon another event, which is an assumed ground for it, or is at most only submitted to judgment in full con-

[3] The peculiarly Greek anticipatory condition is for obvious reasons omitted in this discussion.

fidence that its validity will be recognized.

This assumed ground we call the condition, antecedent or supposal; the protasis, the clause to which it gives validity we call the conditional clause, consequent or apodosis. Grammatically the protasis is dependant upon the apodosis; for it cannot stand as an independent statement. It requires an apodosis expressed or implied. Logically the apodosis depends upon the protasis.

The conditional clause is thus a branch of the causal clause and differs from it only in that the speaker does not assert definitely that the protasis is the cause, but assumes that it is necessary to the realization of the event he has in mind.

Thus every conditional clause is in form hypothetical no matter what deal with the most serious truths. The speaker may desire to gain the advantage of a causal assent by supposing a permitted fact as an assumption merely.

protasis, or supposition, as in Latin and corresponding to them three great divisions of conditional sentences.

1. The logical condition.

The protasis is objectively real; that is it is to be tested by the standard of fact and its validity thus established or disproved. "All that the Logical condition asserts is the inexorable connection of the two members of the sentence" (Gildersleeve 1, p 6)

2 The ideal condition

The ideas expressed in the two clauses are wholly imaginary and merely conceived for the sake of argument or illustration. There is no concern as to the objective reality or probability of the ideas, but only as to the validity of the conditional relation between them and the aptness of the ideas for illustration. The condition often contains the expression of something desired.

3. The unreal or unfulfilled condition.

The apodosis is expressed as unfulfilled or contrary to fact. This is closely related to the ideal condition. The ideal condition is an assumption without regard to the facts, the unreal condition is an assumption in spite of the facts. The protasis is always, (as a rule) not necessarily the apodosis (cf "Moods and Tenses" p 149)

This division is both logical and convenient for classical Latin; for the three conditions have respectively special grammatical forms: the indic. for 1; the pres. and perf. subj. for 2; and the imp. and plup. subj for 3.

For English the formal divisions do not correspond to the logical. While the great majority of cases under 1 take the indic, there are also large categories which have the pres. subj. in protasis (class II and class IB proper p 10) in the subsequent classification which appear properly to belong to the logical condition. Then in the unreal the

and the unreal conditions use precisely the same form, the pret. subj., in both clauses, and they are only to be distinguished by context and by function. Accordingly a five-fold division suggested by the uses of moods and tenses has been adopted. This division does not clash seriously with these logical categories, while it brings out with appropriate emphasis the forms of the condition which are peculiar to Anglo-Saxon.

Mood and Tense.

1. The investigator of Anglo-Saxon syntax meets at the outset with the difficulty that the indic. and subj. forms in several cases coincide. A paradigm will show the increasing confusion of forms from Early to Late West-Saxon. The later endings are enclosed in brackets

	Weak Pret		Strong			
			Pres		Pret	
	Indic	Subj	Indic	Subj	Indic	Subj
Sing	1. hatode	hatode	helpe	helpe	healp	hulpe
	2. hatodest	hatode	hielpst	helpe	hulpe	hulpe
	3. hatode	hatode	hielpð	helpe	healp	hulpe
Plu	123. hatodon	hatoden(on)	helpað	helpen(on)	hulpon	hulpen(on)

Thus for a strong verb the pres. 1st sing. and the pret. 2nd sing of the indicative and subj. are respectively indistinguishable from the earliest periods of West Saxon and the 1st and 3rd sing. pret. indic and subj. of weak verbs are not distinguished. In Late West Saxon the distinction between the subj and indic. plural of the pret. forms vanishes. The case

is worse for the pret. of the weak verbs in which only the 2nd singulars are distinguished after the falling together of the plu. endings under - on (For the complete levelling of the moods of the weak pret. cf. § 28.) and still worse for pret pres. verbs. This confusion of pret. plu. endings begins even in the Orosius and the Pastoral Care.

Another difficulty is that of determining the exact force of those verbs such as sculan and willan which are moving towards an auxiliary and modal significance. Of final instances where their modal value is unquestionable, but in general I agree with Kittgens, that they retain their independent value even in Late West-Saxon.

I shall proceed immediately to the consideration of the pres. subj.; for this is the only point at which there is likely to be serious difference of opinion, and if I can clear up at least state the reasons for my belief, the remaining cases may be treated

with greater brevity.

2 Views on the subjunctive in general.

All grammarians are essentially agreed as to the great line of division between the indic. and the subj.; and the distinction may be stated as follows:

The indic. makes a statement with as little color as possible. The speaker acts simply as a reporter of his thought or observation and expresses no particular relation of his own to the thought beyond that of reporter - preserves as objective an attitude as possible.

The subj. expresses the entrience of a more subjective element, a more intimate relation of the speaker to the thought. 1. He may express with varying degrees of intensity a personal interest in the statement as favorable or unfavorable to, wished or demanded by himself; in which case we have an optative or exhortative use of the subj. or, 2. He may imply an intellectual judgment upon the

intrinsic value of the statement in its relation to fact or to probability; or he may wish to imply a restriction or definition of the limits and applications of the statement. All these uses may be included under the potential subj.

In the optative use of the subj. he adds something to the absolute statement, in the potential use he reserves something from it.

We must also recognize the fact that the subj. may be used in many cases formally rather than logically to mark a subordinate relation, as in indirect discourse in Latin. Such uses are possibly always referable to original, logical constructions, but as we actually find them in the different languages it is impossible to class them under any one logical principle as optative or potential.

The ~~Standard~~ view of the pres subj in protasis in Anglo-Saxon must be stated before proceeding to my own consideration of the subject

It is generally conceded for Latin and for Germanic that the subj. in a condition falls under the potential use. ~~Gramble~~ Hopkins at this point, not chiefly in connection with the pres. subj. in protasis. Still practically our only authorities in the Anglo-Saxon field agree in stating that the pres. subj. expresses the condition as only assumed or hypothetical. Koch II, p 48 under the head of the conditional sentence states: The subj. is used "in den Sätzen, die eine nur angenommene Bedingung enthalten." I take it that Prof. March means the same thing in his statement Gram. p 144: "The subjunctive is used in a protasis when supposed as possible, the imperfect when assumed as unreal (so in Latin and Greek)", though I confess that neither the definition itself nor the parenthetical gloss is entirely clear to me. Possibility as a principle is exceedingly broad. A reasonable interpretation of this vague definition would seem to be, that Prof. March means by

state with Koch that the pres. subj. is used in the protasis of a purely hypothetical condition in Anglo Saxon much as in Latin.

This view of Koch and of March has been iterated and reiterated in the most faithful manner by the great majority of dissertationists upon Anglo-Saxon syntax. My own study forces me to believe that this view has been set forth by those whose eye was less on the object than on the Latin grammar.

Mätzner makes no statement for Anglo-Saxon. His statement for English generally is quite as general as, and more cautious than that of Prof March — a model of cautious if not of accurate statement. Moods and Tenses §391 shows that it is not proper to speak of a condition as "als verwirklicht ausgesprochen". Mätzner Gram II, p129. "Der Konditionalsatz, insofern er eine Bedingung enthält, die nicht gegeben ist

verwirklicht ausgesprochen, oder schlechthin
als unverwirklicht gedacht wird, lässt vielfach
den Konjunktiv, ebenso oft oder den Indikativ
hier auch in diesen Fällen nicht ausschliesst."
It would be unfair to assume that this statement
is intended to apply with strictness to Anglo-
Saxon. Such a definition is simply a dignified
way of covering the almost inevitable retreat
before the subj. in modern English.

I. The present subjunctive in protasis.

Expressing my dissatisfaction with the theory
that the pres. subj. marks a purely hypothetical or
ideal condition, or with the implication that its
presence is fortuitous and irrational, I would state
the outward circumstances of the great mass of
conditional sentences with the pres. subj. in protasis
before risking myself upon any path of my own theory.
There is a certain humble satisfaction in an unintel-
ligent knowledge of the facts.

The present subjunctive in protasis

1. Is seldom found in any other condition than the one mentioned below, unless the apodosis expresses a 'command', a 'wish', or a 'moral obligation'. Prob. The indic. is often used in such cases under influence of a Latin original

2. Is found practically without exception in those conditions introduced by buton, nemne, or nymbe in the senses of 'unless'; 'except'; 'if not'.

The following is an attempt at an explanation of these uses of the subj. confessedly, at some points where I can detect nothing but a formal use; insufficient.

1. The present subjunctive in the protasis to a command or wish

would seem to admit of the following explanation.

The speaker introduces a strong subjective element into the sentence by the expression of his own desire or command. He thereby falls out of the role of mere reporter, and expresses a particular interest in

the relation. This element of will may extend through the whole sentence and influence the verb of the protasis, which becomes subjunctive, the proper mood for the expression of will or wish. The subj. in such clauses is then rather adhortative, at least in origin than potential or hypothetical.

Hotz (p 55) has explained the phenomenon in a somewhat different way and I am inclined to think that his explanation is right so far as it goes. The subj. appears in the protasis on account of a striving for "symmetry"[4] of form in the two members of the condition. It is also [illegible] an analogical

[4] The difficulty with this explanation is that symmetry as a guiding principle must be maintained in the face of very serious exceptions. The apodoses of the future condition almost invariably indic. never influences the verb of the protasis which is invariably subj. Hotz has in some unaccountable way left out the [illegible] this dissertation, a most serious omission in [illegible] otherwise excellent piece of work

dwelling due to the influence exerted by the subj. and imperative forms in the apodoses. The writer is certainly not [illegible] to explain the reason for this analogical change, and to show that it is not wholly mechanical and irrational.

A citation from Prellwitz p. 19 will show that this view is no absolute novelty and will give due credit to those who have held it previously.

"Der Conjunctiv in vielen conditionalen Nebensätzen ch finalen conj. pres. verdankt, wie schon Holtz a.a.O. p. 55 § 17 und Reichhauer § 28 gezeigt haben, seine Entstehung nicht seiner absoluten geltung, sondern vielmehr einer beeinflussung des übergeordneten satzes."

To Holtz belongs the credit of first observing and stating this principle, which, in some form, must eventually supersede those merely conventional explanations of the pres. subj. in protases which still find their way into dissertations on Anglo-Saxon syntax.

Fully to persuade the reluctants of the old view of this condition it must be shown that such conditions are neither necessarily nor usually purely hypothetical. The principle involved in this construction will best be elucidated by the citation of examples based on the same Latin which appears in several texts, or which with similar protases have as apodoses respectively a simple statement and a command.

I hold that there is no trace of pure hypothesis in such a sentence as: Ved sonne min sculp, gif ðu me lufige Jn 13,7. based on the Latin: Si diligis me pascas oves meas; nor in this evidently independent translation: Gif ðu me lufige, læs a mine scep. Hm. I 290,30. This passage is a paraphrase from John 21,6. The Latin rightly expresses the condition by the indic; for the Saviour in making the command evidently neither intended to cast any doubt upon the love of Peter, nor did he regard this love as something merely possible or conceivable, but knowing and accepting the

of Peter, be enforced by the Thucydidean command we find in the Gospel the obligation of service that that love brings with it. It seems to me that the passage hardly admits of any other exegesis. The conclusion then is not merely hypothetical as "parallel"; and the Anglo Saxon has changed the mood in both instances either on account of the ruling interest and intent which lie back of the whole thought, or from the demands of symmetry or from both reasons.

Another case shows the merest possibility of the dubitative use of the subj though the Latin gives no countenance to such a view. Satan can hardly be accused of really doubting the divinity of Christ, or if doubting, of being undiplomatic enough to express the doubt. The only reason for a subj. in the Latin would be that the sentence is a mere taunt. Even the most radical exegetes will hold though that the temptation was a real one. I cite four passages, which

are based on two Latin passages, which have however the same words and tenses. Assuming for brevity that this is the original of all, the Latin has the subjunctive while Genesis has the indicative translated closely. Gif þu ðæs scealt sy, cwæð þæt þes stanas to hlafe gewurden. Mat. 4,3. and three times besides with subj. in protasis Gluck 27,5; Lk 4,3; Hom I 166,12; a change from the mood in Latin which is hardly to be explained on any other theory than the one advanced above.

Similarly Sie filius Dei es, mitte te deorsum, though translated mechanically in Mat 4,6; Gyf þu Godes sunu eart, asend þe sylfne nyþer, appears in four other cases with the pres. subj. in protasis. Gif Du Godes Sunu sy, feall me adun Hom I 166,12. Also Hom I 170,1; Gluck 27,10; Lk 4,9.

Marsh explains the following subj. as denoting a condition which is 'possible': Onsend Hrigelace, gif mec feld cume, healu-scruda hæle æt minre breostwerh. Beo 452. of 1480. Without denying the correctness of it

explanation. I am unable to see why it should not apply equally well to an indic. condition six lines previous: ac he ne ðalban wile ðreore forhæfen, gif nan deadsinneð Bed 446. The subj. as before is to be explained by the presence of a mandatory apodosis. It would be absurd to say that one of these conditions is more real or probable than the other.

The following is a mere taunt, with implied disbelief of the protasis, and is not decisive for our principle; still the Latin shows the indic. against two translations by the subj: Si filius Dei es, descende de cruce. Gif þu sy Godes Sunu, ga nyþer of þare rode Mat 27.40 Ælfr Hom II 156.5.

The apodosis may contain an expression of moral obligation or fitness, which amounts to a mild command. Se gif ne wilnigen (cunnan) ðæt he ðæs wos gesmicen, ðonne sceolon we hie beran ðæt he ne wilnigen leas gielpe Ps 67.22; Ps 49.13.

Gif hire ðonne se wæpnede, ðonne is eg an ðæt him afirre Let us in ðæt mht 61 45.

But it hardly needs extended proof to show that such conditions are very seldom to be classed as conditions of pure hypothesis or mere possibility: the fact lies in the very nature of the case: A command or an exhortation is usually expressed not in view of a remote possibility but with reference to a known or definitely anticipated state of things.

Another and one of the strongest reasons for doubting that the note of hypothesis is dominant in the prim. subj. in Anglo-Saxon is that, except in indirect discourse, it is found only in the exhortative use, in apodosis and in other independent clauses it practically never expresses ideas of doubt or of mere hypothesis. Outside of formal uses, wish and command are the most important ideas carried by the prim. subj. in Anglo Saxon.

These conditions with exhortative apodoses do not necessarily take the subj. in protases. The subjective relation to the protases may be suppressed. While certain

of the Prophets which translate somewhat mechanically, over nine tenths of such conditions have the subj. in apodosis.

If we may trust to the integrity and reasonably faithful transmission, so far as syntax is concerned, by Mss of Rabbinic Laws (circa 600), the indic. originally stood in such conditions and the subj. was just beginning to at that time. There are only fifteen subjs. to sixty five indics. in Psalms in this code and part of these may admit of another explanation. The later Laws generally show a somewhat irrational mixture of forms with a great preponderance of subjs; while a few have carried the subj. through (more) consistently.

2 The present subjunctive in protases introduced by lutun.

The protasis introduced by lutun, (the same as ygnwde) in the sense of 'unless', 'except', 'if not' practically without exception takes the subj. It is not easy to see the principle which lies back of this use

cases. The apodosis takes the main clause. We may distinguish two general heads: duration.

a. The Buton clauses as true exception.

Buton introduces a condition that must be excepted in thought before the apodosis can be conceived of as fulfilled — it suggests an event which may be interposed to prevent the fulfilment of the main idea. It thus involves caution in statement, a special survey of the situation, and a reservation from the absolute statement. In most cases too it deals with contingencies in the indefinite future and perhaps properly falls into the receptive category of "mere possibility", though not of "pure hypotheses". There would seem to be ground enough for the use of the subj. in this case (though I confess to an inability to formulate a wholly satisfactory reason for it), and to this extent perhaps the old view of the subj. is justified. At all events the subj. in the protasis is independent and neither influenced by nor influencing the mood of the apodosis

examples: ac he gefremed manigfeald leasung on fan forhwegenge 7 on fam gylpe, buton hwa hwile oft to hyre gecynre leoms 64 Micel yfel deð se deas wiet, buton he hit gebete Hom II 2,22. Hio wund wið ðe God ðe mon mid yfelan hefð, buton mon unbe swicnesse & unpreonde sie god wenc ordendc 60 115,14. Ealle we sind gelic ætforan Gode, buton hwa oðerne mid godum weorcum forðeo Hom I 260,24.

c. The buton clause as an indispensable condition.

In the second case buton introduces a condition without which the independent clause has no validity - states an indispensable condition. The independent clause contains the negation of an idea which depends for its realization upon the condition introduced by buton. The formula is: - 'This will not happen unless this happen.' This is the most common form of the buton condition.

I am unable to detect much of the element in these conditions which traditionally

subj; they seem to me to be usually a simple statement of the relation without particular subjective coloring. The contingency however becomes a little more stringent, when the condition is expressly stated as indispensable. This use of the subj. would seem on the whole to be formal rather than logical, and possibly an analogical extension from the former class. It alternates later with the subj. as already in Anglo-Saxon.

Examples: ne he on horses hriege cuman wolde, nemne hwæle mare mycel abeelde Beda 160,16. Monnan ic ne bite, mynde he me bite Rid 66,5. Me ne bearf na fulfremede, buton we bion afandode. Hom I 170.14.

Swæ swæ forlyst he call his earen wæl, buton he hit gebete. Ælfs 170. Me bid nan fostor gyfe gescrifene, buton se nan hine sylfne fram leahtrum forhæbbe Wulf. 286,12.

Note: Genuine cases of buton with the indic. are very rare and were probably regarded as ungrammatical

Probably finally half a dozen more examples could be cited from a microscopic examination of all of Anglo-Saxon, excluding a few doubtful formulations in other linear phrases. Examples not apparently included in Late West Saxon is Leofwine heom sende þæt a mycelne morgan, fyrmest morgen, ðæt hie to foðe gelæfen eðer gegyrwan willað. Wulf. 216,14.

Remarks. 1. In this example from Ben 1557 as in a few other instances listen seems to have merely the modern alternative force of 'intend to be equal to ær. þæt wæs wæpna cyst, listen hit wæs mare, Cosmog. mon ðer to headu-lace æteran meahte.

2. The infin. may follow listen dat. case + to, listen Sonne Bl. 399,3, listen forðy ðe Bl. 423,22 and similar collocations. In most of these cases we have merely a contracted clause, which leaves the proper verb of listen to be supplied from the context. The verb in the infin. is properly not construed with listen but with the following conjunction of

5. The indicative mood

may now be considered briefly. It is the mood of simple objective statement. It offers a condition or hypothesis for judgment without implication or reservation.

1. The pres. indic. is used to express both present and future relations. The verbs sculan and willan had usually their full, independent meaning. The future in -liċe is usually translated by the pres. indic. There is a slight tendency to use a progressive tense with beon to represent the future and future perfect of the Latin: biod geworuhtfaldade (multiplicaturus) Vesp Ps 138.18. The forms of beon are preferred though not exclusively for expressing future relations of the substantive verb.

2. The pret. indic. represents the action as taking place in past time, absolute or relative; it is the simple historical tense. Already in Anglo-Saxon there was a perfect formed with hebbe and the past participle, and also a pluperfect, but they are rare and [illegible]

a subordinate element of style or of syntax.

6 The pretent subjunctive. Numeral, 2. identical.

1. is preëminently the mood of the unreal or unfulfilled condition. In both protasis and apodosis. The use seems exactly parallel with that in Latin. All the time relations expressed by the plup. and imp. subjs. in Latin are expressed by this one form of the verb. (cf. pf. (no. 2))

2 The pret. subj has also a restricted use, in both clauses, as the form for the purely imaginary or ideal condition which is expressed without reference to fact.

Dob cured: Eal gif mine synna and min synd, þe ic dolige, wæren awegene on mra wægan, þonne weren hi sweartran gesewene þonne sand corn oe sæ. Hom II 154, 22. Gif ge mec gesawen hwelce mus þæt were hlaford ofer opre mys, sette him clænes / midde hie efter gafole, hu wunderlic wolde cuce þæt þincan. Leas cp. 163 p 52 h

Note. The preterite subjunctive in Late West Saxon.

This note illustrates a fact noted in passing by Sweet (Anglo-Saxon Reader xcviii). "in the later language where there is no distinction between indicative and subjunctive in the preterites of [illegible]" It may be a mere subtlety to ask whether the subj function has gone over to and been superadded upon the indic., or whether the indic form has lowered out the distinctly subj. form remaining, so that [illegible] have essentially two moods distinguished by function but not by form. Yet since many of the pret. subj. forms still remain distinct and since even in ambiguous forms the difference in function [illegible] so plain it seems worth while to maintain the latter view as a more reasonable interpretation of the fact. I am loath to give up the subj. pret. form of weak verbs and to admit that it has become wholly fused with and lost in the pret. indic. at this period of the language; for we find it fulfilling exactly the same functions as it did when the

distinction of mood was not clear. Accordingly I think that an alternative -st ending should be added in the paradigm for the 2nd sing. pret. subj. of weak verbs in Late West-Saxon.

Reference to the paradigm of weak verbs will show that the only forms of the pret. indic. and pret. opt. distinguished in Late West Saxon were the second person singular as, þu hafdest beside þu hæfde. We must recognize the fact that even this difference disappears in the later mss. and that the indic. 2nd sing. has preced the corresponding form of the subj., and the moods became exactly alike in form and only distinguished by difference of function. The proof of this is that forms apparently indic. are found in mood and ideal conditions at a time when such conditions in all unambiguous cases require the pret. subj. and when, apt in this apparent case, they never admit a plainly indic. form.

Examples: Gif þu wistest hwæt þe toweard is, þonne wepe þu mid me. Hom T 404.27. is proved by the context and by

the form wæpe is an unfulfilled condition.

Dilte þu for sc-i, gif þat þine agne willan wære þe
þu wendest þat þu forlure, ne mihtest þu [illegible]
[illegible] Cons. cp 7 § 3 p 20m. Ludw. affirmen, si tua
forent quae amissa conquereris nullo modo perdidisses.
So 'mihtest' Cons cp 36 § 2. p 174b. Dc wat, gif
þu on hreðre (Bod nafelest) fulne anweald dines
selves, ðonne hafdest ðu hwæt hwega on þe selfum
ðæs þe nafre þinum willan ætstan woldest, ne swa
wyrd þe on geniman ne mihte. Cons. cp 11 § 2 p 34b. The
Later Cadlean ms. shows an additional bad reading
with the -st form. The original must have had hafde in
both clauses. Dc wolde ewepan þat þu upwita wære,
gif þu gefyldig wære 7 geswegian mihtest (Cott mæhte), (tacuisses)
Cons. cp 18 § 3 p 20m. The superior Cotton ms has preserved
the original reading mæhte. Eahe gif þu wistest —
Lk 19, 42 quia si cognovisses. The list could be enlarged
and other cases are cited in the course of the dissertation, but
[illegible] instance will suffice to establish the fact.

7 Outline scheme of moods and tenses.

It may be well to give a brief conspectus of the normal use of moods and tenses in Anglo Saxon.

In Protasis

a. The pres: indic. may be used to express any pres. or fut: relation that is not unreal or purely imaginary, except in the future condition

b The pret indic is used 1. to express a real condition in past time 2. or following a pret. in indirect discourse rarely.

c The pres. subj is used 1. a protasis whose apodosis is a command, wish, or the expression of an obligation. 2. in a clause introduced by buton (nemne nymbe) 3. often in indirect discourse 4. sporadically in a few miscellaneous cases.

d The pret. subj. is used 1. in a purely imaginary hypothesis 2. in one that is contrary to fact. 3 in indirect discourse following a pret.

On Apodosis.

a' The pres. indic. is used in the apodoses of a, b, c 2 and 4.

b' The pret. indic. is used in the apodosis of b.

c' The pres subj adhortative and the impers are used in the apodosis of c 1 and rarely in that of 2 and b. Otherwise the pres. subj. appears in the apodoses only when in indirect discourse or subordinate construction

d' The pret. subj is used in the apodosis of c

Formal conditions without conditional significance may well be considered and dismissed before proceeding to the general classification.

1 Indirect questions

form the largest category. Gif has the force of whether. The mood is usually the indic.

Forwarf, gif hit is, sua we sæfter secgan hyrdon Beo 272. Smeagan, hu gelicu us his mode, gif ðas bebodu and ðære fyllice habbað æniges stedes on his heortan, Donne foreword he hwæðer he is from Gode Hom II 228,20 cweðende, gif is nellic [illegible] monn forleta wif his Mat L. 19,3. dicentes. Si licet homini dimittere uxorem suam.

Except for the stereotyped form wære, following a pret. according to the same construction in indirect discourse. Fa befran Judas, gif he hit wære. Hom II 244,6 also II 250,28. þæt he þone wisan wordum nayde, frean dryhtnes, frægn gif him wære æfter weorðmynde niht getæse. Bec. 1315.

2 Concessive conditions

A formal condition may have an adversative sense and therefore belong logically to the concessive construction

The following sentence is confirmed as a concessive construction by the Latin. Gif we mucht ðes ne dooi ðe us mon mid goode leanian ðyrfe, ne do we eac nan woh ðe us mon for ðolan ðurfe CP 337,20. Et si digna misericordiae retributione non agimus, nulla tamen perversa perpetramus. But gif eower synna weren wyrlen rude or lim, ... scinende on manes hiwtnesse Hom II 322,10. also I 350,2.

3. Optative conditions.

The condition expressing a strenuous wish, difficult to fulfil, side of attainment, with the pret. subj. is to my feeling purely formal, and ealc gif is to be translated were would that. The mechanical explanation based on the probable origin of the form, is that we must assume ellipsis of an apodosis expressing some such idea as 'how good' or 'how much better it would be'.

Eala gif ic maste dem cwellan ænigum mannum gelyfdum

Hom I 432,10. Eala gif du were hund! Hund is smyllcas,

and on helle ne ic mæg. Hom II 308 13. Eala se biscop

Eala gif ic hæfde fine sylne mec. Swith 3,521 The following

instance shows that use, noted previously (§28) of the pret. subj.

— for the pret. subj. which is found in nearly all late texts

Eala gif ic witan wolde! pære halgan rode geryne Hom I

588,17.

4 Conditions of courteous address.

Certain forms of address which are not very common

in Anglo Saxon should receive mention here. Grammatically

they occur generally in complete conditional sentences but

logically they have no more conditional force than our

modern courteous formula 'if you please'.

From the preface to the "Pastoral Care." Gif dy me dyncð

betre, gif iow swa dyncð, ðæt we hie sumre hee — on ðæt

gediode wenden -- CP. 7,6.

IV

General Classification of Conditional Sentences

A practical classification of conditions under five heads is immediately suggested by the treatment of moods and tenses.

First, must come the great class of simple or logical conditions with the indic. in both clauses.

Second, the conditions which with a mandatory apodosis have regularly the subj. in protasis. This class is so important for Anglo-Saxon that the erection of an especial category for it seems justified; and its logical nature suggests that it follow the simple condition immediately.

Third, the ideal condition which is regularly expressed by the pret. subj. in both clauses. As an appendix to this class the stray instances of the pres. subj. in protasis not included ~~in the~~ in the second class may be appropriately collected.

Fourth, the unfulfilled or unreal condition, which takes the pret. subj. in both clauses.

Fifth, the exceptive condition, introduced by

Gutin (nemne or mynnie), which has the only in protasis forms appropriately a special class, though logically it is ~~would~~ sometimes to class three (p22) sometimes to ~~class one~~ the first. (23).

For the sake of clearness, indirect discourse, contraction and ellipsis, and conditions expressed by forms usually non conditional have been excluded from ~~kept out of~~ the general classification and relegated to special sections for fuller consideration.

I. Simple or Logical Condition.

The speaker simply asserts the relation between two ideas without any implication as to the intrinsic validity of the ideas themselves. The hearer is supposed to test the matter by the standard of fact. Such conditions are by far the most numerous in Anglo Saxon. There is a tendency to include all present fact conditions under this form. The indic is found both in protasis and apodosis.

A All such conditions in pres. actual fut. time are expressed by the pres. indic.

1. With simple statement as apodosis.

Fut. condition: ... gif se cyst gefare (over) sæ ... sege ... Romanum, þ. me mæg se sippan betan eleen þing- ... (over) sæ ... Hy. 156.31. Swa mare þ. hit ... gif ge of þam treowe etað. Hom I 176.21.

Pres. condition: Gif se blinda þone blindan lædt, he feallað begen on anne pytt. Lk 6,39. he secal hyran feondan gif he nele freondum. Wulf. 177,10. Gif ge soðlice ne forgyfað mannum, ne forgyfð eower Fæder ... Mat 6,15. forði is se man betere gif he goode gedihð, þonne call ðu mytenu sindon. Hom I 16,14.

Remarks: Formation of the protasis without gif.

1. Inversion

The protasis may be formed by inversion of the verb (copula - subject etc) without a conditional conjunction. The subj. is generally found in these inverted clauses, but it

would seem not in its logical force. The change of mood is probably formal and due merely to the inversion; for we find in close connection with these inverted clauses direct clauses of precisely the same [illegible] take the initial inversion is instanced in nearly all the texts but is comparatively rare.

Gewite þæt ungeseweniice wt, þonne fyl̃eadume þæt geseweniice, forðam þe hit ne stod ær ænig hit sylf Hom I 160,5. Gewite seo sawul ut, ne mæg se mid clyþian, þeah ðe he gyrige. ~~ne mæg se mid clyþian þeah ðe he gyrige~~ ne lage gesion. þeah ðe hut open sy; ne nan lim ne deð nan ðing, gif se lichama lif̃ sawulleas. Hom I 160,8. The final inclusive condition proves the logical nature of the two inverted conditions.

Gif ree wif and carne ræcnað togædere, gangen hi awæg; nast ðu hwæðer hi þæs wican unfan cild, hwæðer þæs carman Hom I 256,13. And hit hi to menigfeald, geswerie hit þonne sie, and mid calle misdon geswerie hit þeodan sie. Wulf 305,1. Followed immediately by the exactly parallel condition. And, gif hit ofer ~~[illegible]~~

2/

nyte we, he fæt fæmn mæg [illegible]. Such collocations of the subj. and indic. go far to prove that the subj. is formal and not logical in such inverted clauses.

A case with the indic. noted by Mätzner: bid se torr fyrst, ingang geopenad, forne ic cuæt him fram [illegible], in breastsefan, bitre geþoncas fel [illegible]. The following 'clipped' form is probably to be regarded as an indic. geseo we ænigne man þe georne hine sylfne to ures godcundan lifes wille, call þæt he ær agylte we lætað hit of gemynde. Saints 23, 276.

2. Imperative condition.

A command expressed by the imper. or subj. may be a protasis, when the results which will follow the assumed fulfilment of the command are stated. The command and result may be in the same or in different sentences.

Beriað eowre byrienne gemænelice betweox eow, þonne gefylle ge Godes æ. GP. 395, 34. Inweorc mera uestra portate, et sic adimplebitis legem Christi. Helle ge (inwitte) [illegible]

; ge se beoð demde ; nelle ge forgyfan ; ge ne beoð forgyfen
ne ; forgyfað ; and forgyfen. Lk 6, 37. The forgyfe in the
last sentence shows that the two previous 'clipped' forms
are imperatives. Gecyrrað to me, penne gecyrre ic to eow
Blick 103,1. do well on callum dinum life, and we sedan
after dinum weldædum blidne ic eft gemiað to us
Hom II 341,16. uton andettan ure synna - - penne forgyfð
(1/5) we us sylfum wiðerræce siðe and geearniað us heofna
rice. Wulf. 115, 6-15. In an exactly similar passage we
find the condition repeated in regular form: uton ge-
swicean unrihtes and gelæran to rihte, penne geearnige
we, gif we þæt willað, sona godes mildse. Wulf. 129, 11.

The following rendering of a Latin conditum is
noteworthy: Do me of dam fordan dæle on pinum mode,
call þæt seo sa his ofsceten hæfð 7 call da secand de
heo him ongenumen hæfð. 7 call þæt his fæmnas / mæres
genumen habbað / call for callum dearfe - wela - hige:
penne mihte ðu ongitan þætte þes calles nis monnum penne
mare lefed to begeanne, buton swelce an lytles cafertum
tems cp 18 31. p62 my Hæc quærite, si quantum maria pelagique

prement, quantumque sibi vasta ingluvies deglutiendum cogitatione subtraxerit, vix angustissima hominibus area relinquetur. Cf. Leons cp. 32 § 2 p. 116 b. where there is no Latin original.

3. The periphrastical condition.

The periphrasis on þa gerad may introduce a condition. The subj. may be found in the clause which elucidates gerad.

Swa ic wolde, ba Mod þa t þu fore up [illegible], on þa gerad þæt þu eft mid us þa eorþan secan wille for godra manna þrafe. Leons cp 7 § 3 p 12 b. Iscunde si placet, sed ea lege, ne uti cum luctiere mei ratio possit, descendere iniuriam putes. Forme is hit alyfed, þæt ic mot mete þycgan on þa gerad, þæ he his elmessan sylle. Wulf 285, 3, repeated l 6. Both of these examples stand in subordinate position.

2 The apodosis may be an exclamation or a question.

a. Which is rhetorical and expects a negative answer or dissent from the conclusion.

Gif ðonne se sæcerd bið ungeræd ðes læcecræftes, nuxt forstent ðonne his gehlyd? CP 41,20 Gif ge ða ne lufiað þe eow lufiað, hwilce mede habbe ge þeah? Hom I 210,20. Hwile fæder wile sylfum his cilde slan, gif hit him hine hlafes bitt? oððe nædran gif hit fisces bitt etc Hom I 250,7. God is sealt; gif hit awyrð, on fam fe hit gesylte bið? Lk. 14,34.

b. Which is rhetorical and expects assent from the hearer. The words hwæne, ne Moreta and Mere ah ne, in the sense of nonne often introduce the apodosis.

Oððe gif hwele fole bið mid hungre geswenced, and hwa his hwæte gehyt & ðehelt hwæne wilt he ionne hiera deaðes? CP. 377,8. Hu mæg ðonne ænig mann rihtwisnesse & geswadrislice aræcgan, gif he nan grot rihtwisnesse on him næfð? Cons 156. and gif man oðrum miltsað, hu miltse suiðor wile God miltsian and arian his handgeweorc! Hom I 68,23.

c The [illegible] may not suggest [illegible] as proposed so that the hearer may supply the proper [illegible] with the purpose of gaining information, or of forcing the hearer to admit the validity of the condition.

forpam gif hig on grenum breowe þes þing doð, hweet ábid hig on þam drigean.? Lk. 23,31. gyf min broðor [illegible] Mat. 18,21. [illegible] gaste Drihten clypað, hu [illegible] ge me gelyfen? Hom I 226,5; cf Jn 8,46.

t The [illegible]

The pret. indic. is found in the protasis of the simple condition in past time. It is the form of direct narration. The apodosis may of course be in any [illegible] to that of the condition that is expressed in past, present, or future time. The verb then of the apodosis may be in the pret.

or in the pres. indic. as in the simple pres. condition the apodosis may be a simple statement, or its equivalent an exclamation or a question.

1. Aposiopesis with pret. subj.

gif hie þonne sodne sælden þonne mæren mæg gode

nǽlend to anfenge, al þe þǽnsiþe flugæn for heom: Cthun I 262, 34. (Peterboro). Gif ic ryhtwis wǽre, ne sceal ic me ne

ane me forwegan mǽfre forcuþigian molde: gif heo on þunre

2. Aposiopesis with pres. indic.

Gif Crist for us callum dead was; þonne weorþaþ

sceal mon deaþ [illegible] gif hi mid ænigan þingan Cristan gecwaþan, on þisan

lænan life, þonne habbaþ hi neaste from þære manfulle

þes sylfan selfe. þ þæs mandædes [illegible]

þæt gif hi min wǽren, þonne wǽre heo [illegible]

Remarks 1. Inversion.

An interesting and possibly isolated example of an idiom that still survives is: ond nan manne ... ofslegen ond; one oderne: Ichnm E 222,7.

– Complex conditions.

In the phrase on þæt gerad þæt ... the subj. due to the grammatical subordination of the following clause. 7 sixa hund gisla on his geweald underfeng, on þæt gerad þæt hie him sippan ecc peneras woren Ch. 122,3; cf 52,33. ... oferhergode eal ... on þæt gerad þæt he wære his midwyrhta æghwæs geond ... ge on lande Ichnm 945.

... II ...

Conditions which expres a 'command', 'exhortation', ... especially due pres. subj in protasis.

These conditions are most of them logical, but

since the Hyp.-clause comp. is the normal one, in most cases it seems desirable to make a separate division for this characteristic construction. The indic. is fully admitted, but generally under Latin influence; and the latter has shown a preponderance of the subj. sufficiently large to establish it as the better idiom.

A. *Aposiopesis with the imperative.*

Sec. gif þu eigne! Beo 1371. Saga, gif þu cunne, cl 856. of Rit 33,13. Sit þu wille þin luc bringan (at) to dam wicstede, ic þe þonne agife ofdune hund þusendo þin micelsta wiðerwearde godan feohes, forlet þonne an þin luc beforan þone werfode, and for oncst after hiora etc. CP. 349,9. Gif he Godes mannes eyg, tyge þæt eage hine Beda 100,23 hone; Si homo deiecit, reguiescat illum. Gif se cwen-wel tæce and ryfele hyniga, to þæs þwea he tæce, and ne he þone þe hyne ær hæfde. Hom I. 242,24; II 48,34.

Note! The *þus-clause* is found in the following

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Eornustlice gif þu bringst (offrast þæt) þine lac to weofude and þu þær gepencest þæt þin broðor hæfde enig þing agenes; læt þær þine lac beforan þam altare etc. Mat 5,23&24; cf Hom I 54,19. (contrast to GP 549, 7 ff)

þu wilt wiðsacan eall þæne willan þe from me. Nim þæt calic þisse welle. Lk. 22,42. Gif ðu wylt becuman to ðam ecan life, heald þas bebodu. Hom II 400,5.

2 Apodosis with the subj. (adhortative)

and gif heo bearn hebbe, feo ðæt bearn to ðem londum efter hire CE.I. Charter 45,C15. Gif his hwa sie laðlic wiðerwinna, ace ðinc þ he wið þæt ne 100,25. Gif he þonne cow cac forhogie, cow ne wille, arisan, mid þy cower nan is, sy he þonne from cow forgyfen. Beda 102,2. utan þrafian ahwenede and heortan ... gif we ... Hom I 209,5. Gif hwam þuringe be ðam gemænelicum ... Hom I 132,27.

Note 1. The desire may be expressed by an expression like ic bidde instead of a verb belong subj.

Gif hit manga finga to dage. beon mæge (potest), ic halsie (obsecro) þætte me sy long fæc bilīcennum Beda 290,4.

Similarly. Gif hit eallunga þus aræded sceo (definitum) [illegible] sete me sy mare fæc beliccnum þon þeos mehsta menēo. Beda 290,23. and, ic bidde me on godes naman gif hwa þas boc awriten wille, þæt he wel gerihte be-fore bysne. Saints Prof 72.

Note 2. The pres. indic is found somewhat rarely in [illegible] (as in the pres. subj.) [illegible] for metan sende pe 7 r. Gif ic hine siut beo-cnend (obtinet) [illegible] me to beon helpan gemi-tum, sinc dara huoet he don odde leran sceolen. Bl. 103,9.

Gif se untreowa deofol eow þus [illegible] sceo cadiga dæl us callum bysnode. Hom II 328,24.

[illegible] expression [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Mate Antic in protasis

Such conditional sentences have naturally the indic
[illegible] the
a majority take the subj. Ne secole we tellan gif
we hwæt lytles to gode gedod, [illegible]
ure misdæda; Hom II 430,6. Mine gebroðra, gif ge gode
sind, þonne secole ge onlice wiðercorenra, manna ofer
[illegible] þonbeon Hom I 52,21

III

Condition Purely Hypothetical Condition

[illegible] expressed with the pret. subj. in both
[illegible]

The conditional ideas expressed are purely imaginary. They are not to be tested by their correspondence to fact but by the validity of the relation established between the idea and its aptness for illustration

The very few conditions having the pres. subj.
[illegible] are [illegible] mere

Ea la þætte ðis monegu were geselig, gif hie ænigu (176) unriht swa riht 7 swa gestatelod. Leons. cp 21 p 74 l 4

amor quo caelum regitur regat. and ðeah he mæg þæs riehtes gif he nære hliseadig, ðonne wære him (177)

ðeah sumes wordscipes wana. Leons cp 33 p 120 l 1.

Menig man is cristen geteald on sibbe, þe wolde ðuhte ðuhte wið sacan cristes, gif ænig man bude þæt man

bead þam martyrum. Hom I 212, 25. Hwa wolde me ofre

Hom II 88, 17.

Appendix: The Pres. Subj in protasis.

Neither introduced by buton, nor induced by a command

The aggregate of such cases is small, and the

quite impossible to state a principle which will cover all the cases. Some are undoubtedly capricious variations. The small number of these cases is in evidence that the pres. subj. was not the case of mere possibility or assumption. Practically all the cases put under such rubrics in the dissertations belong under class II.

1. Formulas of address.

With inversion, probably subj. but possibly 'clipped' [illegible] sio sibb gewunde ---: ponne is pæt efter L wuntra and 7 feower hundum Chr. 182,16; also Ahsige ponne --182,19.

Gif hwa ponne dæt gemet habban wille, þa mydpanke [illegible], ponne is pæt mete 7 dryne 7 clapas --

þæt þ is geseyne Laws: cb I 431 b 42 f. In the preceding cases the proper apodoses are lacking. A similar condition with apodosis expressed is: Gif hwa oncaga hu dis [illegible] ponne secge we þæt dæs monnes lif sy [illegible] on Creedum hade Hom I 452,24. Wilt þu, wif, ane ebidde ondrincan? cure dic: Ic wille 7 me leof is gif þu

mege. Beda 392,32. ~~Hwæt hy wit abidde~~ and The condition is merely a courteous form equal to the modern "if convenient."

The subj. was probably a more courteous form of address, though there is hardly enough material to [illegible] judgment.

~~2.~~ [illegible]

Dæ sceolfa cuðe summa bridan, ðone ic wolde ðæt ic mæfre cuðe, ðæs noman ic eac sunglice gemunan mæg. gif ðæt ænig bryce Beda 442,9. cuius etiam nomen, si hoc aliquid prodesset, dicere possem. Ic willa ðæ mid sume ðe sceontre trahtunge ðæs reðinge ofer ymne and geopenian, gif hie hweet digles on hyra hebbende sy. Hom I 388,29. The condition prepares the hearers' minds for difficulties, without telling that they exist by suggesting the possibility of the existence. Gif hwa ælc [illegible] to him Hom II 306,19. The context from Thorpes translation is "Thus wrote Jerome, the wise expositor, concerning the holy record, how it was found. Of any one day [illegible]

we refer to him." Aelfric anticipates any possible disagreement without wishing to assume its actual existence in his audience. So: We willað eow gesuntelian þæt ure gif eower hyge myhte ænge tweo mannes beorgan, þeah þæt ne sy mannes dæda. Hom. II 106,38. A second grammatical repetition of this sentence is in Wulf 288,4. The idea back of the following gif sentence [illegible] for [illegible] to happen, but to which [illegible] would not [illegible] 70.

3. Ideas of doubt or of incomplete knowledge.

Ac se þurh yldest þe þæt þe nafast do, gif þe God sylf þæt man þas nemne witnige & cwelle. Blick 183,1.

Gif ðu from þissum messepreoste gefandunge wære, þæt [illegible] þe þæs[illegible] ne rihte gefadunge [illegible] were because the bishop only on the authority of what he heard [illegible] the statement upon him. This is a sort of logical indirect discourse. A somewhat similar case, though the mood may be also influenced by the imperative:

Gif þis gebeot wære eow geseald (as you say it was) from
eowrum kynincge, astigað hider mid gefean ge mine
wif & Ælfric eow 21. Contrast the parallel passage in
Andreas 344 where we have indies, although the construction
nicely varies. Forms except in the absence of com-
mand. Gif ge sylfe þegnas, þas þe þegn-scipe, ofer
milleapeorh, mon ge secgað þæt ge geheolon, þæt eow
se kaiga riet, þonne is eow mid gefean ferian mid
eower brimstreamas.

4. Miscellaneous.

A case where the illustration is in the infin. and
the application in the subj. There is possibly a primer of
disposition not of denial (note 40) in the subj. condition.
The mild ordinary benevolent expressed by the infin. The
anticipation of the restriction expressed by ealdinga
may effect the removal of the first subj. condition. gif
þara lima hwilc of bip, þonne ne bip hit no fulmon-
dwrðlic ac wæs. gif ænig þegn wære from gode
gewitt, þonne wæs hit þe no forhte god of ealdinga

from gode geurite Cons cp. 3733 p 190 l.

A very rare use of the subj to express certainty is instanced in: ponne ne reccap hi (the will foul) para mette, gif he for ondra begonga ungenyp[ed] sindon p 88.m

I can see no reason for the subj. in this case: Gif ænig unsele mon mage gesecan (potent nature) he hinder þes nefne wiccan dædes and hellicum wæpnum bes wæles. Cons and he cwepan þet sio dohtriss para æniges deman ne þæterne to metanne wiffe cean wiste Cons cp 3783 p 190 l

In the following example secge is probably subj from mage: Swefan he hit ungetelice nyston mage. gif se he wæs bisne get secge. Cons cp 3484 p 138m

A condition in which the subject is indefinite is found with the subj: se þet hi tæld to cnihtlicre wiflunge. gif hine he ungelte on hira bendle, butan he hi to hiræ rihte genege Cons 1 + 2a. +

5 A few cases nearly related to class II

The apodosis contains a suggestion of obligation or fitness.

Julianus ponne þæt commende wrif oðpe þet beorn

pet personnel šal. gif šas pu freie ringelsonn' freeware
šeeše - - nemig- gonete ia hanned Bolie ie šal shadow
is a regular expression of 'it is right' or 'telling'. Hiswitte
se gpe nemlice on ælce swicum us šeallum gif we swelcne
we mid še for gecyðelice ðing wyllað. We can plainly see
press obligation [illegible] from the earlier, but with
the sense of 'are to' which it has here it is more probably
duty. Gif hwæs hwæge he wolde, þonne mæg he
understandan on þisse gesceafte, þæt þæt lif wæs wolde
swa þeah. Ic onelime to believe that the implied negation
that the dream bears, has influenced the mood, while I
realize that it may be only a sentence and parallel
form of address associated previously. The elliptical
construction gif þa wene þæt hit þin beboden sy
þæt þu on eardast - - hit þonne weren mine wreter,
þe þe on breostum reorum, þonne ic mine gife ne hæbbe
healde Gen 20:9. admits of a similar explanation: that
that the condition up to sy is properly concessive,
or, second and more probable, that in an imperative

is implied, viz; 'If you think it is your land, remember that the waters were mine' etc. In the case, Hu wilt þu me anburgian þæm wrouldsælþum, gif he cuedan to do. etc. Cons. op. 7 § 5, p 22[1]. the Cott. Cott ms. supplies the alternative reading cuedað

Here space has been devoted to this small class than it deserves intrinsically. Still since the citations are complete forming more reading the space has been limited even the case of the pres. subj. with that of the categories specified in classes II and V and I think dispose quite effectually of the 'unemphatic' delusion. But it is significant that the instances cited fall into small special classes, leaving II and V the only classes that include any significant number of pres subjs.

IV

The Unfulfilled or Unreal Condition

In the pret. subj. in both members of the sentence the construction seems to be precisely like that in

the Latin unreal condition, except that the Anglo-Saxon expressed by one tense, the pret., the time relations for which the Latin used two, the imper. and plup. subjs.

A The condition is unfulfilled in past time.

Ne gefiolle he no on suæ openre scylde ðæt he his hordinga feloge, gif he ænige gesaligra wille him to hæfdon hæmedscipes ðiowenne mynegode drihten Bl. 207,2. nisi enim Dein inuidisset accipienti fructificationem, minime peruenisset ad retinaculum dominationem.

Gif þet tempel hine ne gesawe on ane gecynd, ne understode he hine Blick 33,35. gif we hit fremman dorston, we sceole we hit eow Hom II 324,13. for ðan ðe Satanas he drawe to us, ne molde we nan cuman to Godes rice Hom II 4,29. Soðe we ðas ane heafdlyt ðe fore us gif we ne sceolon: Leornie wel-wealle, swæ he fyrene ne wille, nefre him wurðe yfel wyrd forstole and ðeo mannes mod Boe 1055. for ðon gif þa þisses monnes fea in his agnum healle we onfenge we hine hie

swite on þe Beda 216,7. translates slavishly: Si enim
[illegible] accepisses, nec poena eius in te arderet.

D. The condition unfulfilled in present or
future time: or the whole is a general conditional
participial time.

[illegible] gif [illegible] Hel[illegible] & Deormod
to cume, [illegible] Hel[illegible] he [illegible] Hy 6T 217,1 Si [illegible]
alterna fauce [illegible], nunc [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible], [illegible] aura dispergeret. Gif he [illegible]
and engine hæfde, hiera [illegible] mihte he [illegible] Bl
mildig Gd Hom I 276,18. Gif eall [illegible] mildre
wiceweron, panne hæfde se mild-heortnyss nænne
stede -- Hom II 106,4. Noldeic sweord beran, gif he to
wære gif ic wiste hu wið [illegible] [illegible]
gylpe [illegible] ænig ic [illegible] mid [illegible] Byrht. 278.

Note 1. Succession
of the present and preterite of the conjunctive
is more common in these two cases than in any other

It is hardly found however with any form except-
ing and then chiefly in late texts.

ute weordan, wesan ane winterstunde, þonne ic mid
þis werode — Cæd. Gen. 367. Nærun swa manega

Sallust: scoldan forwel dan ecan deade, nære þæt
crist for us deað þrowode Wulf 111.6.

2 Ær is well established as a conditional con-
junction, I have found no example of it in Selfric

hie wið godes beam nahofun, swa he no scoldon,
þær hie ðæðlic fæmen ðrowode Hyd. Cl. 5 (Pub. Mod.
p 21.) Ær we us selfum demden, þonne ne demde us
no God. CP. 415.7. þær yfel auht wære, þonne milde-
hit God unrecan. Cons cp. 35 § 5 p 164 ⁴

V

The Exceptive or 'Buton' Condition.

subj. We may distinguish two classes.

1. The sentence is truly exceptive.

It makes a restriction from the statement, or assigns an event which may intervene to prevent the realization of the idea contained in the apodosis. The formula is: a thing will happen except under certain conditions.

Donne singallice disse cwidiran drohtunge gemunewile to wurpan, ealra þinra wæstmynga þara heligra gewita nebyrgde ðe hie on eorþan ær ðinum ærendwrecan ðeahton. Se þine mid þæssa worulde ðeahtan mæg þonne cp. 3382 p 124h He gives all that wealth for power, unless he may get it for less. Ne wolde ic þæt nænig man to leas wite, buton he hit geriehte. Hom I 8,12 & II 2,22. Ealle we sind gelice æfforen Gode, buton hwæne mid godum weorcum forðeo Hom I 260,24. Buton anlicnisse ðe hwilc gehealde, se ylca wæron þa hyrdas ðe hi healdad. Hom II 230,4. A curious use of nemne in the purely exceptive sense with the subj. is:

Dat wæs gewunden, þætte fore sealfan mennte. þa
[illegible] wæs gewunden, þætte fore sealfan mennte. þa
hroddde Beda 182,23. "Then it came about, that that
might the lines which had been brought seamed
out of doors (foris), except (that) they spread an ammy
on head." Semum [illegible] cyppinge we forbeodeð
eác sammettlice, and eác galegemot, buton hit for mycelum
neodþearfe sy. Wulf 17,5. Se sealtera sceal, ægðer ge
ic þæs wæle, ordum swefnes, fæs mid sefa myclum
Daniel 143.

D The condition is indispensable.

In this sense in the apodosis cannot be realized
except through the realization of the idea expressed
in the protasis. The apodosis may be formed by a
negative sentence or by a rhetorical question requiring
a negative answer. The latter form is rare. The formula
is: A thing will not happen, except under a condition
[illegible]

Det scip wile hwilum ofgan on [illegible]

ac hit ne mæg buton ðæ mund hit tem, ac hit sceal fleotan mid ðy streame CP 445,10. Hu sceal min cuman gæst to geoce, nemne ic gode sylle hyrsumne hygge? Guth 339. Monnan ic ne bite, mynd[e] ic ne hæbbe ... Cri 1112 ff. ... hæfen se mon hine sylfne from leahtrum forhæbbe Wulf. 286,12.

With pret: subj. Se hit Scripia wolde hine clæfen wið manum ofoum þinge buton hie him sylle hire swepne agyfen ... Cr 210,19.

Remarks

1) A very few cases occur where the indic. follows ðæt etc. These occur in all probability mistakes or selections (cf 2-3). I have but one example for the pres. subj. hine ðæt god ... hyge and hungor, buton hio to godes gecynde ... gecyran wille Wulf 210,17. I can only explain:

styret. Versus Incunici (Ex) 106. forhwon wast þu
wearn, and wihte seeome -- nympe þu ǣppel æmne
hyrgdest of þæm treowe þe ic þe wisode forbead?
Cxd Gen 880 (similar is 1401) 'Wherefore knowest thou woe,
-- except (that) thou tastedst the apple etc.?' There is
hardly any connectional force in the nympe clause. Nympe
is not construed with hyrgdest but with the entire
clause. As it is properly such a construction as is
mentioned in the next paragraph and explained
elsewhere. Prose would require nympe þæt, a
collocation instanced several times in the Bede.

2. Apparent cases of butan with the indic.
where another conjunction or clause follows that
conjunction immediately are cases of mixed or com-
pressed construction and will be considered under
the head of contracted clauses.

3 The few cases where butan is used in

might you even come to Lodge me. Here I am, Lord, [illegible] Chrysost with the event or unfulfilled condition

4. There is scarce a trace of any conditional force in this example. But was designed, but being mean = time finde, before but were called, but for the same Wulff 205.19. where the latin clause is properly rendered 'no word but was all true' which would appear to be a survival of the idiom. The latin clause is and adjective clause modifying word.

5. The Latin fails us with regard to this construction; for in most cases such conditions are freely paraphrased in English versions and latin conditions are formed from negative conditions or allied constructions in Latin.

V

The condition Expressed by Time
Usually Non-conditional

The immovable lines of association of
ideas in language prevent the adaptation of
thought into fluid forms of expression. Grammatical
categories point out merely centers of radiation, the
fields of which overlap, unite, or conflict in ever
changing combinations. We expect to find and
do find in the main idea of a construction appended
or superadded many minor functions, some of them
apparently widely different from the regnant function.
A good example of the vicissitudes of form and
of meaning is afforded by the history of the adverb-
while, from its purely substantive origin, through
its purely temporal stage, to a point as in the
modern language when it may have a purely
concessive force.

A condition is itself subject to, may even
consist in, relations of time, manner etc; so it is

shall not be surprised to find temporal and modal clauses etc. which, retaining much or little of their primitive force have gone over to an essentially conditional meaning. Such accretion constructions are highly interesting in the study of style. I have attempted to classify those that touch upon the conditional sentence in Anglo-Saxon under appropriate rubrics at this place

1. Relative condition

"A relative with an indefinite antecedent gives a conditional force to the clause in which it stands and is called a conditional relative" Mood and Tense. Such a condition is of course very common. The introducing relative is usually, se de, seo þæt (þe) swa. A few instances of the translation of Latin conditions by a relative, and the reverse, will show how interchangeable the constructions are, and that se þe is equal to si quis.

Se de biscephade gewilnad, gestrene he geswinc &

Si quis episcopatum desiderat, bonum opus desiderat
se de Dod ne mygit, ne mygit God hine 1 Tim 3,1. Si quis
autem ignorat, ignoscitur. Se instance of class II
which properly takes the subj. se se godes cyrice, se
riht cweð, nyste odde nenig[e] oðre religiones gyt hine
[illegible] Si quis ecclesiam dei le-
uiolauerit uel sanctimonia uiolauerit, anathema sit.
cf. Rule se de wille Rit 60,16 and se de on fenige,
fylige he me Hom I 190,31 and Ohtere, nu, se, se pe
wille ofer se pe hyre, þæt þæt ungin more [illegible]
Or 260,6.

Exotic curious use of þe representing gif ea;
Hu se Wisdom hine selfe þone, þe he worlde creatunlere
cunl sunum, þæt he alysde of wræc þa heonen cõs
Kit cp 23 p XIV The more usual form is represented by:
Hu se Wisdom hine selfe, gif he wæt þara hiniscan
woldon etc leons Kit cp 12 p XIII

Sum hungle hyre-cild ne bid gyrnsmiles on pem-
fylmene his flæsces, his sweotol lose Hom I 24,19. [illegible]

wille fuchie ouveald agaw, he wesf folium wesf pel
he hoelbe ouveald hia zones mortlew Exercipe 8. 52, 106 -
Seow hwa dura wille him dissa ieroald he fremd he
ungemetlice, he hid se lieten. Gales fremd. Gl. 52, 52.

Forcem pe seems to mean 'more than one if in the
following case: Ic dey me se fscip i se ouveald
fiskes gif he accepte fem dysigum. He ouey hine
gesloh weorpe - ondrysa op sum dysgum. He forcem pe
he pne ouveald forliet, odde se ouveald hine, ponne
sy hif he ouper pam dysegum ne weorpe ne ondrysa
Cons cp. 278 1 p 9 mm.

Note. I fear instances of the translation of a Latin
relative by gif. Hwet se dome unryhtlice talad -
de talad dret he sie unryhtlig, gif he dysgerel, do
us God teo gemanan sealde. Sum significatio agnad
Gl 535.11. gif common dei mennis scilt fraigt
dis lif. for dem nan man ne hafd - ma dret he
sume ware, gif he self nat dret he oferfaren hid, ne
sie se, se his unscild ne wat ne gyltad, ne wilnad he

manes. Acts 10:44, 9. he puts from the Latin in the first instance and follows it in the second. ... ...

conditional conjunction and we may accept Miller's statement (XXXI, "But it is clear from the table that these words 'if' though Bede has incorporated in support of the sense" Cum me nu þem mete me lið cleue, þem þet mete, me lið cleue, forþam þonne þet wiff þet heo cleue mete of geeynd þrowð, swa ðeð in unclænesse getelet heo! Beda 80,14. Si ergo ei cibus immundus non est -- cur -- ei in immunditiam reputetur? So Beda 78,14; 78,27; 84,6.

Nu cleue Beda 234,29. Sonnoðlice we ge þe yfle wyrt, cunnan ge le wyrtan soðcræftas leechcræft wyrcan, ge-ma cower Heler -- wyleð gan þam de hyre hilað Mat 7,11. Si ergo vos -- nosti dare. Hwæt we nu þonne

Nu folleows the subject, we cunnon ðæt ðis gendes andgites scen sceal englisc habbað, þonne mihte we ongitan þet þet andgit hit miele betere þonne we geseoð leornessa Cons -p 413 - p 251? Si igitur ista rationis participes sumus, ita -- iudicium -- habere possimus.

I have ~~not~~ found a conditional nec (neither) in Ælfric nor in Wulfstan.

Ðonne used of indefinite time may [illegible] in the sense of 'if ever' or even with slighter temporal force 'in case that'. For many instances in the 'Lives of the Saints' cf Kühn § 14.

Ðonne ahebbað hie sume fulluht wiðe up hiora heafdu; ðonne hi hi mæge mylcað gesceadene to ðem ðæt hi mægsten hira unrihtwisnesse; & ða Reowsian GD. 425,23. Ðonne ænige helinga[s] oxellund, si quaquam ex ei[s] penitentiam de expiatione [illegible] ðæt hi[s] witen ~~ahebbe to nanre ende~~ humiliant. Witodlice ne hæfð he þera ælcra ðeawa, þonne he hine sylfne gewyrð Hom I 66,5. Hwæt fremað him þæt þæt he hæfð, þonne he Ðeos (God) mæfð þe him ða god forgeafe þe he hæfð? Hom II. 40,92 These examples will suffice. Such temporal conditions are common enough in all texts. It is difficult to distinguish sharply between purely temporal and temporal-conditional sentences in this case.

c. The condition of didactic comparison with þonne.

þonne in a conditional sense may introduce a clause which expresses the concrete duty or phase of conduct that corresponds to a biblical type. It was rather a favorite didactic method — and its end is at last — this torturing of all biblical circumstances into types. This construction is tediously common in the "Pastoral Care." A page of such conditions may be found from CP. 161,10.

Đonne hie standað on dem munte, đonne dæl hiese nauht elles ne secð to dem ordum buton ludre CP. 349,4. Eft, đonne we his mennisenysse mid hiefenlicre godcundnysse, þonne eta we þæs hlafes fet. Hom II 240,11.

The following passage from Ælfric shows that gif and þonne were interchangeable in this case. Buccan we offrian, oððe tiecen, gif we ures lichamen galnysse ofersmiðan. Sulfran we offrian, gif we ure modes hlewsetnysse on rihtum mode healdan. Wæstbæm we offrian, gif we on ælcnysse unrihtes þearfe hlafes

we bringeð Gode to lofe. Þonne we hiera ælfylcne on
heorcnesse ne Þenfeð, ac ferenyssa and sar freotigeð
freond. Hom. II 210,31 +

ær for ǣr

ær may be used to introduce a temporal conditional
in nearly the sense of ǣr. The mood is the subj.
cf. Kleinhans p 85. Þæt mod dælte ne mæg ge
sion Þa fǽne ær hit sie gewunded, hit he Þenf Þæt
hit hæbbe sinle on hondle Þone sceldt inwis eyes
Bl. 431,13; so 331,21; 445,2.

ǽ mid Þy and wið Þam Þe

Introducing temporal conditions may be noted Þæs.
Mid Þy Þonne seo lufe ne lið tudres to tiðienne, ac
se willa me wealdeð in Þam wene Þære gemengnisse,
Þonne habbað Þa gesinhiwan Þenfe he heora gemengd-
nesse, Þæt hi wæren; hreowe ðes Bede 21,25; 2 r 86,14.
se deofol hefian, -- gif he wolde on hine gehyfian, and
his hælend widstoen, wið Þam Þe he gefremede his
fulan galnysse Saints 3,368. This conditional has not lost
final force meaning simply 'provided that' but from —

similarity of form to the mid dy et has seemed best to class this isolated example at this place.

3 cl subject clause:

Antecluxing a purely hypothetical mental idea, generally in a conjunction, may be in a truly conditional relation to the independent clause. The clause is introduced by þæt and the verb is subj.

Se de enige disse cennyg beweard, him were betere þæt him were dream cwicsuster & hyra suiren getigel, ond sua swopen to dæs grunde Bl 31, 2. the Gospels: wyttre him were þæt an ceorn clan sy gecnytt utacten his swiren / si unus lapsus in terram clausus fuerit cum ipsis. Lk 17, 2. utilius est illi si lapis molaris imponatur circa collum ejus et projicatur in mare, quam ek. þæt him were sylfes mest swelc, þæt þæt se fyr swelce dæg. Leas cp 38 § 4 p 204 m infelicissimam vitam, si esset æternus. Forþam sume menn wenaþ þæt þæt sie zelesta zesælþ, þæt men sie sum zelig þæt he nanes þinges maran ne þurfe Lmn. cp 24 § 1 p 82 l

swa-ðeah hetere þæt he forhtne þonne he ethweste Hom. II 480,8. Also GP. 31,23; 433,29 (cf Fleischhauer pp. 71)

4. Þær with the pret. subj. has been classed with the unfulfilled condition (no 2) Fleischhauer (p 21) regards the following construction with þær as wholly temporal. Its antithesis with the concessive clause that modifies the independent clause - Fleischhauer has stopped his citation at ideles - certainly marks it as a temporal condition similar to those with þonne. Swa eac ðer ðæt herfest lið unhal, eall ða winn bið ideles, ðeah hie hal sien GP. 129,7.

5. Þeah in a conditional rather than a concessive sense is instanced rarely. The obvious translation of þeah by 'even if' is a constant temptation to classify it with the conditional conjunction, but the word 'even' marks plainly the adversative force of such clauses when more closely considered. ga to þinum huse, þeah þu min ne bidde, nemne þæm þu hit me segge Mk 7,26. Wende in domum eius et si in uicum introiens, nemnin direris. þeah in this case is equal merely to þ

6. Swa, swa swa, and swylce.

These modal conjunctions may introduce a conditional clause.

a Swa 'provided that'

Do not find this in Anglo-Saxon. For examples of 'so' as conditional in Middle and in Modern English cf. Mätzner III, 484. He has no examples for Anglo-Saxon. The following examples are all that I have been able to find. Swa swa sio naca bið simle swa gesund, hreppen da felga on þæt he hi hreppte

Ac gelyfe to þe, min lif[illegible], þæt þu nafre wille anforlætan, swa ic þæt gefremme, þenden feorh leofað, min on moldan, þæt ic þinum lare leofwendum lyst gewyrce

From Bosworth Toller cite; He him þet land forbeat, swa he eniges hucan wolde (Thorpe) 202.10.

Nim, swa hit þe ne misliccge (Apol. of Tyre (Thorpe) 20.12.

b Swylce, swa swa and swa will in hypothetical comparison.

We have in this case a double or compressed construction of swe swelce and conditional: swa swylce is to be resolved into 'as it would be if'. Such mixed conditions are usually swa or freely by the bare swelce the subj. Swelce he spræce swa to Wulf 465, 21 and 35. Hu ne bið he þonne swelce he sæwe good, & him wære of þæm ælc yfel? CP 41,6. Hwi murcnast þu swiðmin, swelce þu for wrecum þingum scy þines eganes bearmes. Gen sarc 743, f 20b his freonda swylce forstent him eal þat sylfe, swylce hit sylf spære Wulf 3816; so 301, 12. Also Wulf 53 ll 3, 8, 18, 25.

swa swa Eft her, swa swa her forhtlice gehyged were, eller þon hie cuedē Bede 140, 18. quasi pauciter indignata So Beda 122, 15; 174, 29.

swa þu wes he meleð swa swa, swa he in þa ilcan tid of þissum life gelæded swa Beda 218, 9.

Swylc swa þis andweard lif --- is swylc swa þu ært swa swylcum selle Bede 134, 26. Mid ðon wealds swa gelic swa.

Note In the case swelce þu woldest þa læn callra
þinra gesetena wiccan þissa woruld habban. (Cosijn §
§ 22ⁿ wolde is probably the common subjunctive form.
(Cf § 28)

To my feeling the modal idea is much stronger
than the conditional and the construction is often merely
a less vivid manner of expressing a comparison. Still
it approaches the condition nearer enough to be noted in
this connection

7 A dative absolute

Ds fæcnol only two cases in Sweet. The construction
is surely not native.

þæt wif he ufenweg from hyra yldrum þreatnesse (ea conditione) þæt hi his leofnesse hæfde þæt
hiera þrine þeow-þes Cristenum geleafan — Hexham
mastr Beda 58, 13. The dative absolute is elucidated
by a condition introduced by þeah. Þa gefæstnode he
þære rædnesse & him self sealde, þæt he
twelfa cyninga, þæt ic ðonne wæs of þam wifgeþoncum him

cyning cuman þonne of þam wæpnedcynne. Bede 28,14

ex dolum conditione -- ut etc

8 a butan phrase

May express an indispensable condition.

Gecæd sibbe & god to callum mannum butan þære ne mæg nan man God gesion CP. 345,15 sine qua nemo videbit Deum. Gelæfa is eahta mægena fyrmest; butan þam ne mæg nan man Gode þicgan. Hom I 134.1. The but- phrase in each case is equal to a clause: If a man be without these things, he may not etc

A similar use of a butan phrase as a condition is: Forðon þe nan wyrhta ne mæg yrfe wesan gecweden for-þæm butan lufon & gelæfan. Blick III,14. Ne mæg ge ac nan ðing don butan me Hom I 310,18. Butan þam æhtum, gelice sind þa ðar bidded, and þa ðe hi æt biddað Hom I 256,4.

The plan of this investigation requires further sections upon,

Expansions of the conditional sentence;

Contracted and elliptical constructions;

Conditional conjunctions and correlatives;

The conditional sentence in indirect discourse;

Clause order and word order;

Peculiarities of the different texts.

A statistical Appendix on the lines of the general classification in Section IV.

in all about as much more in bulk as the central and more important portion here presented. The greater part of this material is in manuscript already, but is withheld for further revision.

Biographical Sketch of the Author

I, Frank Jewett Mather Jr., was born the son of Frank Jewett Mather and Caroline Graves Mather at Deep River, Connecticut July 6th 1868. My childhood and youth were spent in my father's home at Morristown New Jersey, where, after attending several primary schools, I prepared for college at the Morris Academy. In the Fall of 1885 I entered Williams College; and was graduated from that institution with the degree of A. B. in July 1889. The following Fall I entered Johns Hopkins University; and during the past three years have pursued graduate studies, with English as my principal subject and German and History of Philosophy as my first and second subordinate subjects respectively. I received the appointment of University Scholar for the session of 1890-1891 and that of Fellow for the session of 1891-1892. I have taken courses under the following members of the Faculty: Mrs. Adams, Bright, Browne, Griffin, Learned, Mezger, Todd and West.

and Mr Lewis, to all of whom I owe something for instruction or for inspiration. Especially would I express my deep sense of obligation to Dr Bright, Dr Griffin and Mr Wood, with whom I have found the relation of student and teacher helpful in more than the formal sense.